

Message Text

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SUBJECT: ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC
COUNCIL, NATO - JANUARY 24, 1977

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF VICE PRESIDENT WALTER F. MONDALE'S
SPEECH DELIVERED BEFORE THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL AT NATO
HEADQUARTERS IN BRUSSELS, JANUARY 24, 1977.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 017336

BEGIN TEXT:

MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL:
IN BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CARTER, I HAVE COME TODAY TO NATO
HEADQUARTERS AS A MATTER OF THE FIRST PRIORITY. I HAVE COME
TO CONVEY TO YOU AND THE MEMBER GOVERNMENTS OF THE NORTH
ATLANTIC ALLIANCE:

--THE PRESIDENT'S MOST SINCERE GREETINGS;
--HIS COMMITMENT--AND THE FULL COMMITMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES--TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AS A

VITAL PART OF OUR DEEP AND ENDURING RELATIONS WITH CANADA AND WESTERN EUROPE; AND -HIS DEDICATION TO IMPROVING COOPERATION AND CONSULTATIONS WITH OUR OLDEST FRIENDS, SO AS TO SAFEGUARD OUR PEOPLES AND TO PROMOTE OUR COMMON EFFORTS AND CONCERNS.

THE PRESIDENT'S CONVICTION CONCERNING NATO'S CENTRAL ROLE IS DEEP-ROOTED AND FIRM. AS HE STATED IN HIS MESSAGE TO THE NATO MINISTERS LAST MONTH: "OUR NATO ALLIANCE LIES AT THE HEART OF THE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE. NATO IS THE ESSENTIAL INSTRUMENT FOR ENHANCING OUR COLLECTIVE SECURITY. THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO MAINTAINING THE NATO ALLIANCE SHALL BE SUSTAINED AND STRENGTHENED UNDER MY ADMINISTRATION"

THIS STATEMENT OF RENEWED AMERICAN COMMITMENT COMES AT A TIME OF GREAT PROMISE IN OUR COUNTRY. WE ARE A YOUNG ADMINISTRATION --SOME 90 HOURS OLD. WE HAVE COME TO OFFICE FOLLOWING A LONG PERIOD OF DIFFICULTY IN THE UNITED STATES, AND OF DOUBT AMONG FRIENDS ABOUT OUR WILL AND STEADFASTNESS. BUT THIS HAS ALSO BEEN A TIME OF PROMISING CHANGE IN AMERICA-, JUST AS IN EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD. AS PRESIDENT UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 017336

CARTER SAID IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS, "THE WORLD ITSELF IS DOMINATED BY A NEW SPIRIT."

I SHARE HIS BELIEF THAT IN THE UNITED STATES "THERE IS EVIDENT A SERIOUS AND PURPOSEFUL REKINDLING OF CONFIDENCE." THERE IS A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF OUR SOCIETY AND APPRECIATION OF OUR RECOGNIZED LIMITS. BUT THERE IS ALSO A NEW FAITH IN THE STRENGTH OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, A NEW WILLINGNESS TO MEET CHALLENGE AND CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITIES ABROAD. SOME OF THESE CHALLENGES ARE UNFAMILIAR TO US ALL-- AS THE WIND OF CHANGE HAS TRANSFORMED SO MUCH OF THE WORLD. WE ARE READY TO PLAY OUR ROLE IN MEETING THESE CHALLENGES. BUT WE BELIEVE THE REQUIREMENT FOR LEADERSHIP AND CREATIVITY ALSO FALLS UPON OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN EUROPE, JAPAN AND ELSEWHERE.

I SHARE THE CONFIDENCE OF PRESIDENT CARTER THAT, TOGETHER, WE WILL BE EQUAL TO THE TASKS OF THE FUTURE, AS WE HAVE MET THOSE IN THE PAST. TO THIS END, THE UNITED STATES IS WHOLEHEARTEDLY DEDICATED:
--THE SECURITY, PROSPERITY AND WELL-BEING OF OUR PEOPLE AND OF OUR ALLIES
--THE "ETERNAL VIGILANCE" IN PRESERVING PEACE; AND
--TO PROMOTING HUMAN VALUES AND HUMAN DIGNITY FOR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

IN COOPERATION WITH OUR FRIENDS ABROAD, PRESIDENT CARTER IS PROCEEDING IMMEDIATELY WITH STEPS TO STRENGTHEN THE AMERICAN ECONOMY. HE IS PROCEEDING WITH STEPS WHICH WILL ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO HELP MEET THE EXTRAORDINARY ENERGY CHALLENGE FACING ALL OUR COUNTRIES. HE IS GIVING PRIORITY ATTENTION TO THE AGENDA OF VITAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES BEFORE THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS OF THE WEST--IN EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA AND JAPAN. AND PRESIDENT CARTER IS DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF THE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE WORLD'S DEVELOPING NATIONS, AND OF THE NEED FOR ALL OF US TO SEEK NEW

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 017336

AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH THESE COUNTRIES.

PRESIDENT CARTER TAKES OFFICE AT A TIME WHEN WE HAVE MOVED FROM THE RIGID PERIOD OF THE COLD WAR INTO A PERIOD OF EXPANDED CONTACT AND GREATER POTENTIAL FOR ACCOMMODATION--FOR MUTUAL BENEFIT--WITH POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES IN PARTICULAR BUT STILL LIMITED AREAS. IT IS NOW POSSIBLE TO TALK, WHERE BEFORE IT WAS ONLY POSSIBLE TO CONFRONT ONE ANOTHER IN DEADLY AND UNDIMINISHED HOSTILITY. AND IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE CONTINUE THIS DIALOGUE, EVER SEEKING TO EXPAND ITS DEPTH AND COMPASS, YET FULLY CONSISTENT WITH WESTERN INTERESTS.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADMINISTRATION ARE VITALLY AWARE OF THE CONTINUING GROWTH IN SOVIET MILITARY POWER, AND THE UNCERTAINTIES THAT LIE AHEAD WITH INEVITABLE CHANGES IN SOVIET LEADERSHIP IN THE YEARS TO COME. THE GROWTH OF SOVIET MILITARY POWER MAKES US KEENLY AWARE OF THE NEED FOR THE NATO ALLIANCE TO MODERNIZE AND IMPROVE ITS DEFENSES--NOT FOR THE SAKE OF MILITARY POWER ITSELF, BUT RATHER FOR A MORE FUNDAMENTAL REASON. THIS REASON IS STATED IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY: THAT WE ARE DETERMINED TO SAFEGUARD THE FREEDOM, THE COMMON HERITAGE AND THE CIVILIZATION OF OUR PEOPLES--FOUNDED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, JUSTICE, AND THE RULE OF LAW.

AS PRESIDENT CARTER SAID IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS

ABOUT OUR OWN COUNTRY:

"WE ARE A STRONG NATION, AND WE WILL MAINTAIN STRENGTH SO SUFFICIENT THAT IT NEED NOT BE PROVEN IN COMBAT--A QUIET STRENGTH BASED NOT MERELY ON THE SIZE OF AN ARSENAL, BUT ON THE NOBILITY OF IDEAS."

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE HAS SUCCESSFULLY WITHSTOOD REPEATED TESTING FOR MORE THAN A QUARTER CENTURY. AND AS PRESIDENT CARTER BEGINS HIS ADMINISTRATION, WE MARK ANOTHER MILESTONE IN US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS--THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MARSHALL PLAN. TODAY, AS WE LOOK BACK ON HOW MUCH WE HAVE DONE TOGETHER, IT IS FITTING TO

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 017336

RECALL WHAT SECRETARY OF STATE MARSHALL SAID AT HARVARD IN JUNE 1947:

"OUR POLICY IS DIRECTED NOT AGAINST ANY COUNTRY OR DOCTRINE BUT AGAINST HUNGER, POVERTY, DESPERATION, AND CHAOS. IT PURPOSE SHOULD BE THE REVIVAL OF A WORKING ECONOMY IN THE WORLD SO AS TO PERMIT THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN WHICH FREE INSTITUTIONS CAN EXIST."

AND THIS CONCERN WITH BASIC VALUES STILL MOTIVATES US, TODAY.

MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, THIRTY YEARS AGO THE UNITED STATES ENTERED INTO A FIRM COMMITMENT TO ENDURING INVOLVEMENT ON THIS CONTINENT--AS VITAL TO BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, AND AS REFLECTING SHARED POLITICAL AND HUMAN VALUES. PRESIDENT CARTER HAS ASKED ME PERSONALLY TO CONVEY TO YOU THAT THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT REMAINS FIRM AND UNDIMINISHED.

IN SUPPORT OF OUR CLOSE TIES WITH OUR NATO ALLIES--OUR COMMITMENT TO ALLIED DEFENSE --PRESIDENT CARTER IS DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN FULLY EFFECTIVE DEFENSE FORCES IN EUROPE. AS YOU ARE WELL AWARE, WE ARE DETERMINED TO REDUCE WASTE AND INEFFICIENCY IN THE U.S. DEFENSE BUDGET. BUT HE HAS ASKED ME TO INFORM YOU THAT HIS NEW BUDGET AND THESE EFFICIENCIES WILL NOT RESULT IN ANY DECREASE IN PLANNED INVESTMENT IN NATO DEFENSE--AND THESE PLANS INVOLVE SOME GROWTH.

BEFORE I LEFT WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT CARTER EMPHASIZED TO ME HIS DEEP CONCERN ABOUT NATO'S DEFENSES. HE TOLD ME THAT HE IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER INCREASED U.S. INVESTMENT IN NATO'S DEFENSE. IN TURN, WE LOOK TO AMERICA'S ALLIES TO JOIN WITH US IN IMPROVING NATO'S DEFENSE FORCES TO THE LIMIT OF INDIVIDUAL ABILITIES, TO PROVIDE A DEFENSE FULLY ADEQUATE TO OUR NEEDS. OF COURSE, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS MAKE A STRONG CLAIM ON OUR RESOURCES--NO LESS SO IN THE UNITED STATES THAN IN EUROPE. AND IN A TIME OF DETENTE, IT IS EASY

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 017336

TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE DEFENSE. BUT THIS NEED IS INESCAPABLE. IT DEMANDS CONTINUING EFFORTS IN COMMON.

THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE GROWTH IN SOVIET MILITARY POWER, AND TOGETHER AGREE ON THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE. IN IMPROVING OUR DEFENSE FORCES, WE MUST REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO STANDARDIZE WEAPONS, RATIONALIZE OUR MILITARY POSTURE, INCREASE EFFICIENCY, AND IMPROVE REINFORCEMENT CAPABILITY. WE MUST PLACE GREATER EMPHASIS ON IMPROVED FORCE READINESS. AND AS AN ALLIANCE, WE CANNOT ACCEPT REDUCTIONS IN NATO DEFENSE CAPABILITIES EXCEPT THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE WARSAW PACT--NEGOTIATIONS FULLY SECURING ALLIED INTERESTS AND LEADING TO A MORE STABLE MILITARY BALANCE.

NEGOTIATIONS ON FORCE LEVELS IN EUROPE--MBFR--MUST MOVE FORWARD WITH THE CLOSEST ATTENTION PAID TO THE INTERESTS OF EACH MEMBER STATE, AND AS A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF COMMON AND AGREED POSITIONS.

FURTHERMORE, PRESIDENT CARTER IS COMMITTED TO AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, LOOKING TOWARDS ANOTHER STEP THIS YEAR IN THE EFFORT TO END THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE PUBLICLY STATED THAT THREE BASIC PRINCIPLES WILL GUIDE HIM IN THIS EFFORT.

--HE WILL PURSUE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE ALLIANCE AND WORLD PEACE,

--HE WILL INSIST ON NO LESS THAN EQUIVALENT ADVANTAGE FOR THE WEST IN ANY AGREEMENT, AND

--HE WILL STRENGTHEN CONSULTATIONS AND COOPERATION WITH AMERICA'S NATURAL FRIENDS AND ALLIES THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TODAY TO ARRIRM AGAIN HIS INTENTION TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH OUR NATO ALLIES BEFORE THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS ARE RESUMED. HE ALSO UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07 STATE 017336

LOOKS FORWARD TO WORKING IN CLOSEST COOPERATION WITH YOU ON M-B-F-R. AND WHILE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION IS UNDER-TAKING A CAREFUL REVIEW OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, WE ANTICIPATE NO EARLY CHANGE IN U.S. PROPOSALS TO OUR ALLIES CONCERNING THE ALLIED POSITION AT THE FORCE REDUCTION TALKS.

AT THE SAME TIME, PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO EXPRESS TO YOU HIS DESIRE FOR CLOSEST POSSIBLE CONSULTATIONS ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE--AND ON LOOKING TO THE FUTURE. BOTH SEEKING THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT--AND SEARCHING FOR FURTHER WAYS TO IMPROVE SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE--ARE VITAL TO THE POSSIBILITIES FOR PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS AT THE FORTHCOMING REVIEW CONFERENCE IN BELGRADE. BUT BOTH DEPEND ON WESTERN UNITY, AND ON THE SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO WORK TOGETHER--BOTH IN NATO AND IN OTHER FORUMS--IN THE MONTHS BEFORE BELGRADE. AS PRESIDENT CARTER SAID IN HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS: "BECAUSE WE ARE FREE, WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE"

THE ISSUES THAT I HAVE DISCUSSED SO FAR RELATE DIRECTLY TO OUR SECURITY IN THE IMMEDIATE AREA COVERED BY THE ALLIANCE, AND TO THE FUTURE OF OUR COOPERATIVE RELATIONS TOGETHER. YET, WHILE THE NATO ALLIANCE PROVIDES EACH OF OUR NATIONS WITH THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC, TENSION AND CONFLICT IN SOME OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD INVOLVING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY

ISSUES CAN ADVERSELY AFFECT OUR COMMON SECURITY.
PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE ARE
TURNING EARLY ATTENTION TO OTHER AREAS OF VITAL CONCERN:
IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, IN CYPRUS, AND
REGARDING BOTH THE SALE OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS AND EFFORTS
TO HALT THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ON THESE ISSUES,
AS WELL, THE PRESIDENT LOOKS FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY
WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN WESTERN EUROPE.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08 STATE 017336

MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL, MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL,
WE DO NOT LIVE IN EASY TIMES; BUT THEY ARE HOPEFUL TIMES,
AS WELL. THIS IS A PERIOD OF HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY. ALL
AMERICANS LOOK TO THE FUTURE CONFIDENT IN THE BELIEF THAT--
WITH VISION, HARD WORK, AND FIRM UNITY OF PURPOSE--OUR
ASSOCIATION OF FREE PEOPLES WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE
SECURITY AND COOPERATION VITAL TO US ALL.

THIS ASSOCIATION GOES BEYOND NATO ITSELF. FOR THE
STRENGTH AND VITALITY OF THE NATO ALLIANCE IS ONLY ONE TASK FACING
ALL OF US. AS WE SEEK TO PROMOTE AND STRENGTHEN OUR SECURITY
IN THE BROADEST SENSE, WE MUST ALSO USE EFFECTIVELY THOSE OTHER
FORUMS WE HAVE TO RESOLVE THE GREAT ECONOMIC AND OTHER ISSUES
FACING OUR NATIONS AND PEOPLES. AND WE MUST WORK WITH THOSE
COUNTRIES FACING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTY, AND SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

TOGETHER, WE SHARE MANY STRENGTHS. OURS IS AN ALLIANCE
OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS, OF ECONOMIES WHICH HAVE
PROVIDED AN UNPRECEDENTED ABUNDANCE, OF ENERGETIC
AND IMAGINATIVE PEOPLES. OUR COUNTRIES ARE PART OF
A GREAT CIVILIZATION OF HIGH MORAL PURPOSE, DEEP
HUMAN VALUES, AND A SHARED COMMITMENT TO JUSTICE
AND COMPASSION. OUR SOCIETIES ARE RESILIENT AND
FLEXIBLE, AND THANKS TO NATO WE HAVE A STRONG COMMON
DEFENSE.

PRESIDENT CARTER AND HIS ADMINISTRATION ARE
DEDICATED NOT ONLY TO PRESERVING THESE STRENGTHS AND
VIRTUES, BUT ALSO TO BUILDING ON THEM IN THE YEARS AHEAD.
THIS IS HIS BASIC MESSAGE TO YOU AND TO YOUR COUNTRIES.
I HOPE MY VISIT HERE WILL ALSO ENABLE ME TO CONVEY TO THE
PRESIDENT YOUR THOUGHTS AND YOUR CONCERNs. FOR THESE
WILL BE OF GREAT VALUE TO US IN WASHINGTON AS WE SHAPE
OUR OWN POLICIES AND PROGRAMS. I LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING
YOUR COMMENTS.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 017336

YEARS AGO, JEAN MONNET, THE FATHER OF EUROPE, SPOKE

ELOQUENTLY ON THE PROBLEM FACING US: "EUROPE AND AMERICA," HE SAID,
"MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THAT NEITHER OF US IS DEFENDING A PARTICULAR COUNTRY,

THAT WE ARE ALL DEFENDING OUR COMMON CIVILIZATION." WE HAVE
ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BASIC TRUTH, AND IT WILL BIND US EVER CLOSER
TOGETHER IN THE YEARS TO COME.

THANK YOU.

2. END TEXT. RENNER

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